20c OCTOBER 27, 1952

WHY VOTERS CHANGE THEIR MINDS—page 5

New Republic

THE HOME STRETCH

COMPARE THE CANDIDATES—
A TALLY SHEET FOR VOTERS

STEVENSON'S SHOESTRING

HOW WILL CALIFORNIA GO?

THE DOCTORS AND THE GOP

Reviews of

Aldous Huxley's THE DEVILS OF LOUDON

Matthiessen's RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE CRITIC

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

OCT 23 1952

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

Victory Via Soap Opera

If you think that Eisenhower's going to be licked, as your columnist T.R.B. says (*NR*, Sept. 29), then I feel that you are mistaken. Why look at the way Nixon fooled 'em all. He actually had people thinking that the $18,000 fund was used for fighting Communism. As owner-manager of a grocery store here in Phoenix, I am in contact with more people than the average person. And believe me, the public swallowed the Nixon "soap opera" like Grant took Richmond. Why Dick is making Ivar Kreuger and Ponzi and Insull look like two-bit amateurs when it comes to putting it over the public.

. . . Ike is hell-bent on getting the Presidency even if he has to sell out his body and soul to get it. I'll bet Taft is just licking his chops now. Who said anything about victor's spoils? . . . I know that Brooklyn would qualify Ike on their team as a Dodger. Who else has said more words while side-stepping the issues than Ike? . . .

If you've got any money on Adlai, better withdraw. . . . But I should be talking, I just bet $5 on Adlai myself. I don't know what odds I got. Mr. Stephen Mitchell in Washington accepted my bet without questions.

Phoenix, Ariz. HENRY TANG

Taft and Kefauver

Perhaps the most interesting sidelight of this Presidential campaign is the part played by two men who lost out at Chicago. Recently the unpopular Taft clashed head on with the popular Ike, and Taft came out smiling. Taft doesn't smile often. Whether or not the fear stimulated by Taft will smother the natural admiration held by most Americans for General Eisenhower will be decided by the people in November and not by Gallup in October. Personally I believe many go to the polls intending to vote Republican but break down and just cannot muster the courage to go through with it. The role of Senator Taft seems to pose a crucial question, namely, whether the stigma he attaches to the Eisenhower camp will outweigh the support of the Taft professionals. Eisenhower may be sacrificing the United States for Ohio.

Turning to the other man who lost at Chicago, and I believe many Americans would have preferred to turn to him, the undercurrent of resentment due to his rejection seems to me deep and powerful among confirmed Democrats. The Senator from Tennessee, Estes Kefauver, caught the imagination of the people and it is my honest but unhappy opinion that Adlai Stevenson has not. Day after day you hear them grumble about the chicanery at Chicago whereby they were deprived of the opportunity of casting their votes for Estes Kefauver. The only thing they hold against Adlai Stevenson is the way he was nominated. . . . But I believe this may cause a defection in the Democratic vote which could be enough to put the elephant in the White House.

Roxbury, Mass. ALAN A. BERMAN

No Paper Doll Patriot

. . .In these treacherous times it seems to me that Governor Stevenson possesses a calmness and wisdom based not on emotionalism but on clear and fearless thinking. He would I believe give us leadership without dictation from any who might be seeking political favors. He is idealistic and at the same time practical. He is a straight-forward man with the courage of his convictions. Here is no paper doll patriot, but a stalwart and intelligent defender of democracy. I hope he will be our next President.

New York City MARGARET N. TAYLOR

Southern Liberals

Your Voters' Guide (*NR*, Sept. 22) was extremely valuable. Writing as a dyed-in-the-wool Yankee, I should like to offer the suggestion that your tabulation refutes one of the hoariest shibboleths of liberalism—that Southerners are more reactionary than Northerners. Many Southerners are among the foremost liberals in the Senate. The voting records of men like Kefauver, Sparkman, Hill, Kilgore, Neely and Hennings are really admirable. Clements and Underwood of Kentucky have three "wrong" votes but so has O'Mahoney of Wyoming. Even alleged mossbacks like Connally and Johnson of Texas and Russell of Georgia have only five wrong votes, but so has Gillette of Iowa. . . .

If one were to rate the Senate on its liberalism, Byrd would be the only Southerner in the lower third and then only just in it. One-half of the Southerners would be in the upper quarter.

The House delegations from West Virginia and Kentucky were astonishingly liberal as compared with Oregon and Wisconsin, the twin cradles of the Progressive movement of 1910.

When Sen. Warren Magnuson of Washington said at the Democratic Convention that there were as many liberals in the South and West as anywhere else, many Easterners smiled condescendingly. Your tabulations show that (Wayne Morse aside) his remarks about Northern and Republican conservatism were almost right.

Chicago, Ill. JAMES ERNST

Eisenhower—A von Hindenburg?

Having followed with great interest the Nixon affair, including his amazingly clever radio performance with its frightfully fanatic approach, I confess I am deeply worried. All of a sudden I was reminded of the political situation in my native Germany at the time when another great general, Field Marshal von Hindenburg, was campaigning for president and leading a "crusade" against his political enemies.

In this campaign I am hearing from some Republican campaign orators the same kind of demagoguery, the same kind

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Food for Thought

Seven persons are in three Fremont County (Wyo.) hospitals and scores of others were taken ill with what doctors said was a form of "ptomaine poisoning" after a Republican rally yesterday. Some 2,500 persons attended the rally and were addressed by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy. . . ."—*From the Washington* Post.

Senator Nixon: "The fact is, cooking shows what a *regular* guy Ike is. . . . it's quite significant that one of Ike's real pleasures is to go into the kitchen and cook up a great solemn meal for the folks. . . . Even the things he cooks are a tip-off. Nothing fancy: just good, clean, solid stuff that built him and built this country." – *From* Look.

Penalty: Court-martial?

After two American soldiers committed suicide by jumping from the sixth floor of the Tokyo finance building barracks, the American Army issued a directive stating it was against Army regulations for personnel to jump from building tops. – *From a CDN dispatch from Tokyo.*

Second Verse, Same As the First

Soviet composer Dmitri Shostakovich is writing a new opera. The Moscow radio says he got his inspiration after reading the draft for the . . . congress of the Soviet Communist Party. . . . – *From an AP dispatch.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

CONTENTS FOR OCT. 27, 1952

5 Why Voters Change Their Minds An Editorial

7 The Tragicall Tale of Bohemund I

8 The Week:

8 Stevenson's Shoestring

8 New Light on Loyalty

8 Respectable Republican Graft

9 Who Likes Ike?

10 The Doctors Needle Their Patients, by Jean Begeman

12 Eisenhower and Stevenson—Summing up the Major Issues

14 Nixon in California by Mark Blackburn

16 Farewell to Mr. Kem by Irving Dillard

18 Literature and the Arts:

18 Aldous Huxley, *The Devils of Loudon*, by Robert Richman

19 F. O. Matthiessen, *Responsibilities of the Critic*, by Willard Thorp

20 Sean O'Faolain, *Newman's Way*, by S. M. Fitzgerald

21 L. Kronenberger, *Thread of Laughter*, by Maurice Valency

22 Aaron Copland, *Music and Imagination*, by R. Evett

22 F. Bowers, *Japanese Theatre*

23 Betti, Shumlin, Drake, by E. Bentley

EDITOR: Michael Straight
CHAIRMAN, Editorial Board: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
MANAGING EDITOR: Helen Fuller
LITERARY EDITOR: Robert Richman
REPORTERS: Jean Begeman, Tom Fitzsimmons, Arnold J. Heidenheimer (on leave with the Armed Services)
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Eric Bentley, Drama Critic; Malcolm Cowley; Robert Evett, Music Critic.
CONTRIBUTING CRITICS: W. H. Auden, Nicola Chiaramonte, Harold Clurman, Dudley Fitts, Kimon Friar, Gerald Johnson, V. O. Key, Max Lerner, Richard Lester, James R. Newman, Kathleen Raine, John Crowe Ransom, Herbert Read, Mark Schorer, James Johnson Sweeney, Robert Penn Warren
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT: F. R. Ruskin
COPY ASSISTANT: Lucille Davis

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1952 IN THE USA BY WESTBURY PUBLICATIONS, INC., PUBLISHING OFFICE 301 N ST., N.E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C. EDITORIAL COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 1416 F ST. N.W., WASHINGTON 4, D. C. BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 40 EAST 49TH ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER SEPTEMBER 26, 1950, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 20c; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50.

WASHINGTON WIRE

STEVENSON is gaining. That's the story of the week. Ike is ahead, and Adlai is coming up from behind. Whether this momentum will give Adlai victory nobody can say because it is this final two weeks that will decide. Now is the climax when the election becomes real to millions: previously they were bystanders—now suddenly they are participants. How they decide will decide the election.

This is the time when the Gallup poll gave the election to Dewey four years ago; Dewey had "46 percent of the popular vote," Truman only "40 percent." Other prognosticators were just as confident. Nobody is confident in 1952. But this is the time when people begin saying, "I was for Ike at first, but now I'm not so certain." Senator Morse has bolted to Stevenson. Poor, unhappy Walter Lippmann has just written: " . . . If the General would now consider the anguish of his friends . . . he would take the risk of making at least one small public demonstration of how, as the leader of his party, he would resist pressure rather than yield to it." Confidential polls of political correspondents traveling with the candidates show them about three to one for Stevenson on the basis of personal appraisal of the two men, although their publishers back home are about four to one for Eisenhower. In a lifetime of political reporting we have never seen such a schism between the two sides of American journalism as that between correspondents and publishers today.

How can Adlai possibly win with editorial pages so strongly against him? We remember in 1948 that only one paper west of the Rockies supported Truman, the Coos Bay (Ore.) *Times*. Today the only paper in Connecticut supporting Stevenson is the Yale *Daily News*. Even to suggest that a candidate can win against such editorial finality seems presumptuous, in fact, a bit subversive. It is an oblique attack on one of our loftiest institutions, the American newspaper and probably encroaches on freedom of the press.

Matters look good for Adlai, however, save for one thing. That is the Communist scare issue. Every sign indicates the GOP has saved this for the final fortnight; it is the snapper at the end of one of the finest advertising campaigns we have ever seen mounted. Good old Ike, and his smile, are presented as the Father Image; some people practically hear the flag snapping when he appears. Lay your burdens on Father Ike—he can cut taxes, cut the budget, end the Korean War, scare Russia into peace, teach unions a lesson, make defense stronger with less money and all with no sacrifice. So far this admirable drive has done very well save for the unfortunate fact that the minute Ike speaks people get bored. How to deal with that? Ah, the Communist issue!

Tom Dewey and Dicky Nixon have already started. Dewey on Oct. 14 attacked Adlai for his "good character" deposition in the Hiss case in 1949. This deposition related, of course, only to the reputation of Hiss based on what the Governor had heard other people say; it was asked by the court, and it represented what any good citizen should have done under the circumstances. But Dewey knows the importance of the last fortnight's campaigning. Dicky Nixon is out making the same attack day after day. He is enraged, according to our information, at Ike's leaders for not putting him back on television with his wife and spaniel on a weekly basis. (Nixon, incidentally, hasn't published his income-tax returns.)

But the real Eisenhower drive on the Communist issue is being entrusted to the Old Maestro himself—McCarthy. He is the quarterback expected to put

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the GOP ball over for the touchdown. Everything is being arranged carefully. Ike is not going to soil his hands with the thing. McCarthy will be financed by an independent citizens group headed by Gen. Robert E. Wood of Sears, Roebuck, Chicago. The nation shows a huge increase in registration and it may come from those who are already frightened by the Communist issue, indeed the McCarthy victory in Wisconsin gives the GOP hope that it can be repeated now for the nation. McCarthy will go on the air, according to plan, Oct. 27 and again in a final tremendous line plunge on the week-end before the election, too late for rebuttal. With McCarthy smashing interference and the good five-star General holding the "crusade" ball, GOP strategists hope for a victory that will restore "unity" and "moral uplift" to the country.

Truman's implication of anti-Semitism against Ike, Oct. 17, is an irresponsible attack. We cannot candidly condemn McCarthyism on one side without deploring it on the other. The Truman charge is silly and does Stevenson no good. The fact is Ike is a well-meaning, personally likeable man who thinks he can harness the Taft-Jenner-McCarthy whirlwind and ride it; we don't think he can, but he isn't anti-Semitic and it is stupid to imply it.

We have traveled on each campaign train and come to some unorthodox conclusions. Stevenson, we think, is much more conservative than a lot of people imagine, but as for Ike—his political thinking is way back at the beginning of the century. Ike has been out of the country off and on for 40 years and is still living in his Abilene boyhood. Ike's major speeches are wired down to him from the Commodore Hotel in New York; his "intermediate" speeches are written on the train, but his rear-platform talks are his own. We have listened to half a hundred of these, and there is no question of the passionate sincerity with which he reiterates the states'-rights anti-federal-government theme. That is his contribution to this election.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

of inexactitudes, the same appeal to patriotic emotions that I heard in the Germany of the Weimar Republic. And I confess I fell for it then; I voted for von Hindenburg. To an even greater extent than is the case with Eisenhower, von Hindenburg was worshipped by the people as a hero, recognized by everybody as a sincere and honest man who wanted only the best for his country. He won a great popular victory, but he was never, as we can now see, the master in his own house. After he came to power he had to hand over his authority step by step, in spite of his good intentions, in spite of his promises, in spite of his firm belief that he would be able to master the situation. The extreme rightists and nationalists took him over and paved the way for Adolf Hitler. . . .

I have often wondered what might have happened in Germany if those of us who counted ourselves as good, decent Germans—and were opposed to both Nazism and Communism—had been able to see how poor old Field Marshal von Hindenburg was going to be used as the stalking horse for the extremists who opened the doors to Hitler. We would certainly have found a way to vote for somebody who was more experienced in the ways of politics, more alert to how he was being used, more capable of handling his supporters—in short, who had more to recommend him than the fact that he was a military hero and a sincere and honest man.

Will history repeat itself?

Maplewood, N.J. JOHN R. REED

Prosperity or Recession?

● How do you know that a "substantial business recession" (*NR*, Oct. 6) will take place if defense spending tapers off and Ike cuts the federal budget?

I do not think that the science of business-cycle forecasting has advanced to the point where such predictions have any validity.

During the latter part of World War II virtually every economist looked into the crystal ball and predicted a large-scale postwar depression. Instead, the greatest prosperity in the history of the country took place.

In the first two months of last year, the public was besieged by a horde of government prophets telling them that a serious run-away inflation was in store for the country. Nothing of the kind has taken place.

It is bad enough for you to make predictions which are nothing more than guesswork. What annoys me, however, is the self-satisfied manner in which you inform your readers of the possibility of a recession in the face of repeated failures by top-ranking economists to predict the future.

MRS. DAVID W. MORGENBESSER

New York City

The Four Horsemen

● The GOP "Flying Squad" of Senators Ferguson, Hickenlooper, Case and Millikin should be called the 1952 edition of "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse"—riders carrying messages of War—Famine—Pestilence and Disease. . . .

Lafayette, Calif. LYDIA PECK

The One Party Press

● I have been reading the *New Republic* off and on for some time, but I have now decided to become a regular subscriber.

My main reason is to see the liberal side of most questions. Here in Northern Kentucky, and across the Ohio River in Cincinnati, we have three newspapers: the Cincinnati *Times-Star*, owned by the ultra-conservative Taft family, the Cincinnati *Enquirer* and the Cincinnati *Post*—all three one-sided Republican papers.

It is shameful that the people in this area do not have equal representation of political issues in the press.

Newport, Ky. WILLIAM S. BRAUCH

Passport Policy

● Eugene Gressman's articles (*NR*, Sept. 8 and Sept. 15) did a good job of revealing the State Department's anti-democratic policy of denying passports to political opponents. Although he mentioned the Dr. Linus Pauling case Gressman failed to mention another important case—that of Thomas H. Stone, Libertarian Socialist League international representative. The State Department recently took away his passport after he visited Britain and France and criticized State Department policy—including the policy of aiding Dictator Franco. Stone, incidentally, is anti-Stalinist as well as anti-Fascist.

New York City JOHN LOEB

Letter from Korea

● In the past few issues of the *New Republic* I have noted with keen interest the pamphlet on Stevenson. Here in Korea, it would be rather foolish to purchase any bulk reprints. But could I please have a copy of this pamphlet? . . .

Need I add that I am glad to see that you are supporting Stevenson? . . . In Aug. 18 issue I note that Farley claims that he has "never been accused of being a fixer. . . .". It would be interesting to question him on how Truman got the V-P nomination in '44 rather than Wm. O. Douglas.

Korea A/1C DONALD W. KLEIN, USAF

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 127, NUMBER 17, ISSUE 1978, WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER 27, 1952

New Republic

WHY VOTERS CHANGE THEIR MINDS

WE HAVE HEARD of many voters switching from Eisenhower to Stevenson in recent weeks. We have yet to hear of a single voter who has switched from Stevenson to Eisenhower. The reasons we think are very plain.

The independents who made their marriage vows to Eisenhower before meeting him had one solid basis for endearment—his prestige alone could halt Taft. Beyond this there was nothing more substantial than hope—the hope that Eisenhower would prove equal to four major tasks.

The tasks were these:

To unify a divided nation.

To break the deadlock in world diplomacy.

To restore competence in government.

To rebuild the Republican Party.

These are great tasks. Eisenhower has clearly demonstrated that they are beyond his limited vision, intelligence, understanding and courage.

To unify this nation in the presence of its colossal assignments required a national candidate who would assume clear national positions which the great majority of Americans could assess and endorse. But Eisenhower, who posed as a national candidate to win his party's nomination, once nominated stands as a narrow, party man. In the words of Walter Lippmann:

"Instead of taking a national position on the great national issues, he has adjusted his position state by state, section by section to the demands of the local political machines."

How can a man who has dodged the real issues as candidate, resolve them as President? Eisenhower has made unrealizable promises to farmers, workers and many pressure groups. He has practiced a cruel hoax on the four million families with sons in uniform. He has offered no hope of bringing into one solid nation our Negro minority now held apart as second-class citizens. He has betrayed his promise of reform in the South. There his candidacy once was seen as the means of bringing to the South the two-party system and, with it, conformity to the national pattern. Instead Eisenhower has chosen as his allies the very men who keep the South separate and impoverished, a caste-ridden colony within the United States. The historic symbol of White Supremacy may linger on the Democratic ballot in Alabama. But the contemporary reality of White Supremacy is present on Eisenhower's platform in the persons of Governors Allen Shivers, Robert Kennon and Jimmy Byrnes.

So General Eisenhower offers no real hope of healing wounds, and achieving the true unity this country needs.

To break the diplomatic deadlock was Eisenhower's second task. Again he has failed. He has been stupid calling the French rotten atheists. He has been insulting in comparing the "100 million backward people" of Asia to "polliwogs swimming down a muddy creek." He has been irresponsible in promising to repudiate the Yalta Agreement, our one legal foothold behind the Iron Curtain. He has been reckless in committing his administration to "liberate" Eastern Europe and weak in withdrawing this commitment under pressure. He has offered little beyond blind criticism in his discussions of foreign policy. He has adopted an even more intransient attitude toward negotiation than that which has frozen Acheson for the past three years. He has probably prolonged the war in Korea by announcing his intention to withdraw American troops.

How can a principled man assert in one speech, on October 2, that: "We must for our own safety lead the world," and promptly add, "If there must be a war in Korea, let it be Asians against Asians"? The answer is that one voice is the Old Eisenhower who carried out the Administration's policies, the other is the New Eisenhower, on his own. His drift to isolationism is not accidental. It follows inevitably his commitment to cut this nation's worldwide effort to the taxes his new backers are willing to impose on themselves. But in today's struggle America's world leadership is measured in terms of the resources we share with others and the visions we hold forth. At every point, it is impossible today to be reactionary at home and internationalist abroad.

To restore competence and standing to the federal government was Eisenhower's third task. Again he has failed. He has loaded the government with impossible burdens, such as the proposal for maintenance of 100-percent parity on farm prices. At the same time he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has denied the government essential functions such as aid to education and the development of hydroelectric energy and offshore oil. He has declared that there was no purpose or pattern in the government's great overseas endeavors. All this, and more, the Washington *Post* and others have excused on grounds of justifiable "opportunism." Stevenson cut through that rationalization: "No intellectually dishonest Presidential candidate can by an alchemy or election be converted into an honest President."

Far more than "campaign oratory" is revealed by Eisenhower's speeches. He has gone beyond McCarthy in promising to strip government not only of subversives but of those he chooses to regard as "pinks." No man with any comprehension of what the excesses of the present loyalty program have done to harrass and demoralize our government could make such a wild and destructive commitment. Once more Eisenhower has demonstrated that the military mind is trained to think in terms of blacks and whites, of uncontested victory followed by the destruction of the enemy. He cannot grasp what Governor Stevenson has clearly recognized, that "the essence of Republican government is not command. It is consent."

To rebuild the Republican Party was Eisenhower's fourth task. It was a task which Democrats and independents hoped to see accomplished. For, in Walter Lippmann's words:

"The Republican Party has been sick with its own irresponsibility, and it has exercised a paralyzing and distorting influence on almost every public question, domestic and foreign."

To make the Republican Party responsible requires a leader with vision and courage and toughness. Willkie, whose belief in civil liberty led him to serve as counsel for the Communist leader Schneiderman, had vision and courage. Dewey, who stood up to Taft, had toughness. Eisenhower, who has repudiated the historic principles of the Republican Party and capitulated to Taft, has shown none of these qualities. He has abandoned all standards in measuring his associates. He has placed his own key decisions, as in the case of Nixon, in the hands of pressure groups and what Lippmann called "the mob."

Great men like Paul Hoffman are exiled from Eisenhower's "tent" although it is large enough to hold Kem and Cain. McCormick, once AWOL, no longer sees the need for an American party and is back at hq. Eisenhower recites the manuscripts that are thrust into his hands on the platform. One heart beat away is Nixon, whose mawkish sentimentality once turned the stomach, and whose brutish cynicism in linking Stevenson and Alger Hiss now makes the heart shiver and the blood run cold.

Far from leading the Republican Party back to the principles of Abraham Lincoln, Eisenhower has foregone principle, becoming all things to all men. He has been a Taft Republican in Ohio; a Dirksen Republican in Illinois; a Jenner Republican in Indiana; a McCarthy Republican in Wisconsin.

Of these, the last is decisive. All but this last make Eisenhower a potential Harding; the last makes him a potential Hindenburg. For authoritarian McCarthyism started in the seedbed of the Republican Party. It has sprouted in the Eisenhower campaign. Those like Lippmann who once argued that Eisenhower's victory would mean McCarthy's defeat have proved naïve. For Eisenhower and Nixon have identified their cause with McCarthy's, and made their victory his. Nothing could be more dangerous than this.

We temper our criticism, knowing that whoever is elected President will need support. But we predict that Eisenhower, if elected, will go on shrinking in stature until he opens Congress and bazaars alike as a constitutional monarch; we sense that the succession in an entrenched Republican Party will be between Nixon and McCarthy, the present heirs apparent; and we conclude that those who vote for Eisenhower, knowing this, bear a heavy responsibility to assume after the November elections the tasks Eisenhower will not and cannot bear.

One man who has faced this dilemma and made his decision is Sen. Wayne L. Morse.

He has decided that he cannot in good conscience support General Eisenhower and will vote on November 4 for Adlai Stevenson. Morse's action stems from recognition of the truth stated by the young Woodrow Wilson while he was still a student in the law school at the University of Virginia:

"Is it the *party* then to which men of thought owe and pay allegiance? No. It is to the *principles*, of which party is the embodiment.

"The man, therefore, who adheres to any party after it has ceased to avow the principles which to him are dear and in his eyes are vital; the man who follows the leadings of a party which seems to him to be going wrong, is acting a lie, and has lost either his wit or his virtue."

It is to be hoped that other honest-minded Republicans of the calibre of Sens. Margaret Chase Smith of Maine and Charles Tobey of New Hampshire will choose to stand with Morse for principle before party.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE TRAGICALL TALE OF BOHEMUND I

GENERAL EISENHOWER is stubborn in matters of detail if not in matters of principle. Stubbornly he insists that he is leading a Great Crusade. On this, a review of history suggests, his intuition may be sound.

An Arab writer of the time referred to the crusaders as "animals possessing the virtues of courage and fighting but nothing else." That was a charitable view. Sir Ernest Barker, whose essay in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is still the classic study of the crusades is more critical.

Barker notes that the name Crusade was bestowed by the Church to sanctify "interests and ambitions" very different from its own. The crusaders, Barker records, were in fact ambitious princes seeking new kingdoms, Italian merchants hungry for profits, and "adventurers who thirsted for gain." These men, Barker adds, "were joined by much refuse, tramps and bankrupts, camp followers and hucksters, fugitive monks and escaped villeins, all marked by the same alternations of affluence and beggary which mark the rush for a gold field of today."

For the common ambitions of these men, Barker notes, "the consecrating name of Jerusalem provided an unimpeachable channel." The Crusades were popular, he adds, because they allowed men "to gain the fruits of asceticism by the way of obedience to natural instincts." In particular, he reminds us:

"The knight who joined the crusades might indulge in the bellicose side of his genius under the aegis and at the bidding of the Church: he might butcher all day till he waded ankle deep in blood and then at nightfall kneel sobbing for excess of joy at the altar of the Sepulchre—for was he not red from the very winepress of the Lord?"

The crusade of 1096, like that of 1952, had its seekers for political empire. Barker records:

"Among the princes who joined the first crusade there were some who were rather *politiques* than *devots* and who aimed at the acquisition of temporal profit as well as spiritual merit. Of these the type and inspirer of the rest was Bohemund I. From the first he had an Eastern principality in his mind's eye."

Bohemund I was a noble soul, a soldier who made his reputation commanding the Normans against the East Romans. He joined the first crusade and soon was its leader. As he led his movement across the Bosporus in 1097 his prospects were at first very favorable.

In front of Bohemund lay a declining and divided Moslem world. Its decline had set in with the death of its great leader Malik Shah. His successor, Sultan Barkiavok, was unable to maintain unity among his co-believers. The Brothers Ridwan and Dekak were fighting in Antioch. The Fatimites of Egypt were in bitter conflict with the Abbasid Caliph of Bagdad.

These groups were momentarily joined by the approach of the crusaders. But Bohemund counted on winning allies among them, and in fact, his siege of Antioch was brought to triumph by the treachery of the Moslem Amir Firuz.

But no sooner was Antioch captured than the besiegers were in turn besieged by Kerbogha. Discontent and demoralization overcame the crusaders. It was then that Count Raymund produced the "spiritualistic" phenomenon—the rusted blade said to have pierced Christ's side.

By this one stroke, Barker recalls, the young Count Raymund sprang overnight to prominence. But, "mingled with the religiosity of his nature," Barker warns, "there was much obstinacy and self-seeking and when Kerbogha was finally repelled he began to dispute the possession of Antioch with Bohemund, pleading in excuse his oath to Alexius."

Count Raymund excelled the soldier Bohemund in matters of politics. So it was that when the crusaders pressed on to Jerusalem, Count Raymund led the troops and Bohemund I was left behind in Antioch.

Jersualem fell, and in the "debauch of killing" that followed Albert Hourani records that men, women and children were murdered without discrimination. Then Bohemund brought up the rear. He arrived in a new role—the vassal of Dagobert, Archbishop of Pisa. Through Dagobert, Bohemund hoped to retrieve his lost command.

Instead Dagobert bestowed his patronage on his brother, Baldwin I. Barker notes that Baldwin based his strength on the Italian traders' profits rather than the crusaders' zeal. So "Baldwin waxed while Bohemund waned."

Barker concludes that from the first the crusaders were doomed through their "violence and materialism." For these characteristics set in motion the Moslem counter-crusade, the Jihad.

As the Moslem world reunited, the crusaders fell apart and became local pirates and brigands. Debtors and children took the place of knights. Soon, Barker records, the word crusade became a "convention of diplomacy designed to cover any particularly sharp piece of policy which needed some excuse." Even the church was "corrupted" for "it cried crusade when there was no crusade."

So, in Barker's words: "The crusades began with the Seljuk Turk planted at Nicea. They ended with the Ottoman Turk entrenched by the Danube." They left ruin and hatred in the East, and a century of exhaustion in Christianity that the pacifism of love of St. Francis alone could cure.

The sole contribution of the crusades to the West—page Eisenhower!—was to compel the introduction of the first regular system of taxation in England and France.

Count Raymond, of course, grew prosperous. But what of Bohemund I? Caught between the East Roman Empire and the Mohammedan principalities, he was captured, ransomed and humiliated. He became the vassal of his old enemy Alexius, accepted the honorary title of Sebastos and eked out his life on a military pension. M.S.

The Charles Deering Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

STEVENSON'S SHOESTRING

Eight years of making big business unhappy, even if prosperous, is taking its financial toll in the Democratic campaign this year. The "fat cats" who usually contribute the great bulk of the campaign war chest to both major parties appear to be placing just about all their gold in the Republican coffers this year. The Democrats seem even more desperate than they were in the hard-pressed year of 1948 until Louis Johnson finally tapped some heavy contributors.

The pinch is general from the Presidential campaign on down. The Volunteers for Stevenson organization has been forced to appeal by telegram for money to keep the Illinois Governor on radio and television. Several key broadcasts came close to being cancelled due to an empty treasury. Senatorial campaigns have been seriously curtailed. Victor "Cap" Harding, secretary to the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, leaves no doubt what this means in Congressional races. He told the *New Republic*:

> Many of our Congressional campaigns, in what we have always considered relatively safe districts, are in real jeopardy because our candidates are literally running out of gas. There just isn't any money to keep their names, faces and programs before the voters.

This year there are no "fat cats" and no Louis Johnsons. Instead, there is the painfully slow $5 contribution by the voters under a program worked out by the famous "pay-as-you-go" economist Beardsley Ruml. It's working, but it takes one thousand separate donations to equal the usual contribution from one "fat cat." Ruml reports what he believes the goal of $5 million will be reached, but more contributions must be made. Two weeks before the election the Democratic campaign committees are some $300,000 in the red with almost $3 million in commitments and only the $5 program as hope to relieve the deficit.

This year, for the first time in history, the voters—not the "fat cats"—are financing a major political party and are, consequently, the "Pipers who call the tune."

SEND THEM TO US

The *New Republic* will accept contributions for the Stevenson-Sparkman campaign. If you do not know where and how to give in your community mail donations to the New Republic, 1416 F. St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

NEW LIGHT ON LOYALTY

A narrow but welcome shaft of light was cast upon the federal employee loyalty program last week. The District of Columbia Court of Appeals held that an employee could not be dismissed solely because he admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party. This was one of the five organizations on the Attorney-General's subversive list as to which the Loyalty Review Board had attempted to make mere membership the necessary equivalent of disloyalty. Such an attempt was found to be inconsistent with the Presidential directive that membership in a listed organization "is simply one piece of evidence which may or may not be helpful in arriving at a conclusion as to the action to be taken in a particular case."

The decision eliminates one of the most extreme formulations of the guilt-by-association doctrine that permeates the program. But the doctrine is by no means dead. There is nothing in the decision to prevent loyalty boards from utilizing the mere fact of membership in a proscribed organization in reaching an adverse result. They simply must be careful to state that the result was premised on "all the evidence" rather than exclusively on the fact of membership. Thus something more drastic than this decision is needed to root out from the loyalty program the noxious concept of guilt by association.

RESPECTABLE REPUBLICAN GRAFT

TRENTON, N.J. (NR Corresp.)

If the GOP wins in New Jersey, it will be primarily due to the Republican state machine supported in part from a million-dollar racket. Some 150 Republican insurance salesmen, ward leaders and liquor dispensers around the state served as the collectors of motor-vehicle taxes and drivers' license fees. The taxes they collect are turned over to the state after those Republicans take their "cut", which is fixed by a state motor-vehicles commissioner who runs Republican county outings on the side. Each year a few of these private tax collectors get caught stealing $6,000 or $8,000 of the taxes they collect. All this, of course, is respectable Republican graft and corruption.

The Democrats are strong in the urban centers, but that has not enabled them to win a state-wide election for Governor or Senator in over eight years. Roosevelt carried New Jersey each time he ran, but Truman lost it in 1948 by 85,000 votes. Sentiment for Governor Stevenson has been rising as respect for General Eisenhower has fallen. The newly formed state organization of Volunteers for Stevenson is publicizing by leaflets and phone calls each of the Governor's TV appearances.

The Senatorial contest between incumbent Republican H. Alexander Smith and Archibald S. Alexander is similar in many respects to the Presidential campaign, except that Alexander lacks a state counterpart for Truman.

Senator Smith has been using the Eisenhower tactics of stressing "the mess in Washington" and the casualties in Korea. However, both the CIO and AFL have endorsed Alexander who played a leading role in the drafting of the liberal civil-rights plank in the 1952 Democratic platform. The outcome of the Senatorial race will hinge largely on whether Eisenhower or Stevenson carries the state.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHO LIKES IKE?

THE FRENCH press has come out openly with an idea only hinted at by most of the West European press. It is that recent events strongly suggest that the Kremlin has been trying to support the candidacy of General Eisenhower.

These events have been of two kinds: statements implying the offer of a "cold peace" to Western Europeans and of a "tame Titoism" to the satellites; and acts, such as the Kennan incident and the breakdown at Panmunjom, amounting to a tougher challenge to the US.

In the *Figaro* of Paris, organ of the "classical Right," and most pro-U.S. of French dailies, Roger Massip writes:

> It is easy to see all the advantages Moscow propagandists could get by denouncing the Republican candidate's conquest of power as a new forward step for reaction and international Fascism in the world.

In *Franc-Tireur*, the most vigorously anti-Stalinist daily of the French Left, Charles Ronsac writes:

> Recent events give the impression that Stalin is betting on Eisenhower; either because he hopes to see the Taftist neo-isolationists influence the General's policies; or because he believes Eisenhower's victory would more quickly detach Western Europe from the United States.

André Fontaine says in the *Monde* that "Stalin votes for Eisenhower" because Moscow prefers "hard military men and big capitalists" to "intellectuals and labor." The Soviet dictator could have supported Governor Stevenson. Instead, he chose Eisenhower and the "policy of the greater evil" because:

> The Communists prefer to have enemies who conform to their caricatures: munitions merchants seated on safes full of money, booted and screaming dictators, generals thirsty for blood. Stalin prefers victory by the most backward reactionary, in the belief that his advent to power will necessarily aggravate the contradictions of capitalism and hasten its destruction.

The *Monde* of course has been the principal neutralist newspaper on the Continent. Its interest in the new Soviet courtship, the "soft" line to Western Europeans while the "hard" line becomes an almost overt intervention in the US campaign is not surprising. Communist agents say that "the two Europes"—West and East—could get together if Western European peoples rebelled against the US "protectorate." The *Monde* worries about the "strange confusion, uncertainty and climate of passion" of the US campaign, and says "the wrestling match" between President Truman and General Eisenhower "will end by lessening their own merit and prestige in the eyes of Europeans." Its editor, Hubert Beuve Mery writes:

> France might, as Mr. Bevan proposes in England, maintain and even in some cases develop necessary ties with the US while refusing the humiliating methods of the protectorate; these might be less bitterly resented if they did not aggravate the risks of war while giving Muscovite propaganda new chances of success.

The Soviet game is to create a vicious circle in which neo-isolationism and European neutralism strengthen each other. And now the game is being played with new discrimination: at the Moscow conference, only Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey were called satellites of the US; Britain and France were said to be straining to win "independence." Whether or not Aneurin Bevan and M. Beuve Mery will be helped remains to be seen. But the London *Observer*, which is neither anti-American nor pro-Bevan, writes:

> Europeans know Western Europe will not go to war, at least during this generation, to overthrow East European Communist governments, revise frontiers or realize visions of world order. Western Europe today will not fight except in self-defense. . . . Rightly or wrongly, Europeans feel that if and as the Cold War changes into a cold peace, Europe—on both sides of the Iron Curtain—will gain in relative importance vis-à-vis Russia and America. That single semi-neutral European countries, such as Sweden, Finland, Austria and Yugoslavia, will gain in importance vis-à-vis larger but more fully committed nations, because they may become the points of contact and peaceful attraction for neighbors like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria—on something like a tacit mutual understanding that neither side will subvert the other's regime or disturb the other's relations with third powers.

Obviously, this statement by an ardently pro-Atlanticist newspaper with great influence throughout the British Commonwealth is a repudiation of the Dulles Doctrine and of the kind of Western policy with which General Eisenhower has increasingly identified himself. And it is specifically the goal of the Soviets' double-and-contradictory US-Europe policy to create such divergences on major issues.

Another point of attack is the difference between the attitude of the US on the one hand, and Britain and France on the other, to the "dynamism" of Japan and Germany. The Soviet counts on having the Asia-firsters, in the event of a Republican victory, worsen the US-British "gentlemen's disagreement" about Japan and the Pacific Pact. It is relevant moreover that the British supported the French against the US on bringing the Tunisian affair before the UN.

But it is in French domestic politics that real Soviet pressure will be brought. General Eisenhower has publicly singled out West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer as the best of his European friends; Eisenhower more and more stands for the *bête-noir* of French foreign politics—a "special" US-West German agreement. The campaign against French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman, is, in essence, directed against close and "subservient" co-operation with the US. The worst counts against him are his German accent, and his link with the Adenauer-Eisenhower brand of "Europe with a German accent."

The campaign may be unjust and wicked. Yet, whether or not it succeeds, General de Gaulle has already emerged from the political shadows, ready to make a come-back as soon as General Eisenhower commands in the White House.

Rome PERCY WINNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE DOCTORS NEEDLE THEIR PATIENTS

by Jean Begeman

HAVE YOU received a hand-written note from your family doctor that carries the following message?

Dear Friend: I am greatly concerned over the welfare of our country, as I am sure you are, too. We need terribly to clean up the mess in Washington. This is our responsibility, because our rights and freedoms, our earnings, and the lives of our young men, are directly at issue. We need a clean, strong able man in the White House to get America back on the track. I believe you will agree that Dwight D. Eisenhower is the man who can do that job, and I hope you will join me in doing everything possible to help in electing General Eisenhower and Senator Nixon.

Or, if you are a doctor, have you signed the following pledge and forwarded it to a friend, or perhaps to a well-to-do patient?

I believe General Eisenhower will stop the governmental trend toward Socialism, end the ruinous waste of public funds, and cleanse Washington of the shocking corruption that discredits us at home and dishonors us abroad. I hope you will join millions of our fellow Americans at the polls on November 4 to elect General Eisenhower President and Richard Nixon Vice-President of the United States.

Both the suggested form letter and the neatly printed pledge are a part of the latest political activity of the American Medical Association operating under "false whiskers" as news commentator Elmer Davis has described the new National Professional Committee for Eisenhower and Nixon. The Committee was hastily organized in September to "finish the crusade in which so many of us have been engaged during the past four years to stop the march of state Socialism in America," according to three past presidents of the AMA, Drs. Elmer Henderson, Ernest Irons and John Cline, who head the new organization. Other officers of the Committee include past presidents of the American Bar Association, American Pharmaceutical Association and the National Society of Professional Engineers.

Claiming to be a "wholly independent, bipartisan movement" of doctors, lawyers, accountants and engineers, the Committee actually is a temporary political front for the AMA between now and election day. The three doctors on the Committee were careful to take leave from their medical practices and resign their positions with medical organizations to devote full time to the campaign. In addition, they brought with them the AMA's $100,000-a-year advertising team of Whitaker and Baxter. But to be certain that no one would accuse them of dragging the medical profession into politics, Clem Whitaker and Leona Baxter resigned from their AMA assignment and say that they are contributing their full-time services to the Committee.

The reason for a new letterhead on the same old propaganda was revealed by Dr. Louis H. Bauer, President of the AMA, who stated that "the AMA, as a non-partisan professional organization, is barred, both ethically and legally, from participating in election campaigns." However, to those who witnessed the AMA's million-dollar campaign to defeat liberal Senators and Representatives in 1950—a campaign directed by Whitaker and Baxter—these words have no meaning. That was the year the AMA lobby spent $1.3 million to "educate" Congress and to help defeat some of its severest critics, among them Democratic Sens. Elbert Thomas (Utah), Claude Pepper (Fla.) and Frank Graham (N.C.) and Rep. Andrew Biemiller (Wis.), author of several health measures. The year before, the AMA had entered the political arena with a "Doctors for Dulles" campaign in New York when John Foster Dulles ran against Herbert Lehman. Although this campaign did not succeed, Dulles carried 57 out of New York's 62 counties and lost only one county in upstate New York.

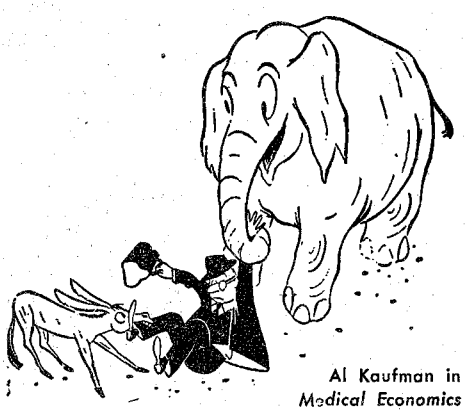
But these past political activities of the AMA were directed primarily against those who favored the various Administration health programs on the organization's blacklist—such as national health insurance, federal aid for medical education, school health services and local public health units. That most of the legislation opposed by the AMA has been defeated is a measure of the medical lobby's effectiveness.

Today the AMA, through the National Professional Committee for Eisenhower and Nixon, is testing its effectiveness outside the field of health in this new "crusade to restore decent, responsible government in our country." The crusaders, according to Dr. Henderson, believe that "Socialistic programs to regiment doctors, lawyers, farmers and other great professional and industrial groups will destroy individual rights and freedoms, if not ended *now*; that the reckless extravagance of government, the crushing tax load and the shocking corruption in Washington must be ended *now*." With this campaign, the doctors are being pushed headlong into partisan politics.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The National Committee has set up organizations in each of the 48 states. Dr. Henderson, in a letter to members on October 8, said: "State chairmen now are rushing the organization of County Committees in the 3,000 counties of the nation. A nationwide press campaign also is in full swing and there is no longer any doubt that the professional people will make their influence felt in this election."

In addition to mailing out personal letters and printed cards (furnished by the committee "to enable busy men and women to get maximum results with minimum expenditure of time and money"), the doctors and other professionals are asked to enlist their wives in the campaign ("ask her to volunteer for precinct work for the next 30 days and on election day; ask her to phone or write to her personal friends, to the members of her church and club, to the trades people with whom she has contact"), and for doctors to "join and work with your local Committee for Eisenhower."



Al Kaufman in *Medical Economics*

The Republican National Committee is in close co-operation with the doctors' lobby. Recently the GOP headquarters in Washington sent out a 50-page booklet to all Republican state chairmen telling them how to organize doctors, dentists, osteopaths, chiropractors and druggists. The book, which describes the New York Dulles-Lehman campaign in detail, records that over two million letters were mailed out, chiefly from doctors to their patients, that doctors made 19,000 political telephone calls and 2,000 political visits to patients ($10,000 worth of medical time at the current $5 fee for house calls).

There is no way to estimate the number of local doctor organizations, like the Maryland Medical-Dental Committee for Better Government, working in behalf of the Republican Party this year. Undoubtedly they have sprung up in every major center. The Baltimore, Md., Committee for Better Government was organized early this year by Dr. H. Hanford Hopkins. On April 14, Dr. Hopkins sent out the following letter:

Dear Doctor: Please do not treat this letter as a routine matter. This is the "year of decision." We are, therefore, again appealing to you for help of a substantial character. It is generally conceded that the 1952 elections will determine whether our country shall continue under the numbing and anesthetizing influence of the Socialists, or turn to the right into the path of high purpose and independence from which we have been straying for the last twenty years.

We are asking you to throw every ounce of your patriotism into this fight. We *must* elect candidates this fall who have the courage and common sense to vote to keep us solvent and to abolish the confiscatory taxes which are rendering all of us slaves of the state.

We are asking you to send $10 [more if you can afford it, less if you cannot] to aid us in this all important fight . . . [Do you realize that it is costing us $225 to place this single communication in the hands of every practicing physician and dentist in the state of Maryland?]

There is little doubt that the medical profession has never been more actively united behind a candidate than it is behind General Eisenhower. Although both Eisenhower and Stevenson have spoken out against "socialized" medicine, the AMA has coupled "socialization" with the Democratic Administration in the minds of doctors. *Medical Economics*, a trade journal for medical professionals, recently conducted a survey of the financial and political status of doctors today. Statistics from the questionnaire mailed to a cross-section totalling about one-third of the country's active, private physicians, were compiled by the Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research. The average doctor's gross income from practice falls just below the $25,000 mark and, since about $9,500 goes into professional expenses, he nets $15,262 before taxes. Politically, the average doctor is strongly Republican. The survey shows this lineup: Republicans, 53.5 percent; Democrats, 21.6 percent; unaffiliated, 24.4 percent; and minor parties, 0.5 percent.

The survey shows Republican doctors are the rule in most parts of the country, especially in the Central and Northwest sections where they outnumber Democrats by more than six to one. In the Northwest three out of every four physicians say they are Republicans. Even in the so-called "solid" Southeast, only half call themselves Democrats.

"Among doctors who net in the neighborhood of $5,000 a year," *Medical Economics* states, "there are two Republicans for every Democrat. Among doctors who net about $30,000 a year, there are *four* Republicans for every Democrat."

These are the doctors' offices where you can find plenty of reading matter to help you make up your mind—that is, for Eisenhower and Nixon—on election day.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EISENHOWER AND STEVENSON—

BUDGET AND TAXES

EISENHOWER: "Federal spending can be cut from the present rate of 81 billions a year. My goal, assuming the Cold War gets no worse, is to cut . . . to something like 60 billions within four years. (PEORIA, ILL., OCT. 2).—"Now, of course, with the expenditure programs that are required today for necessary purposes, there cannot be any escape for the moment from high costs and high taxes and high prices. . . . – PORTLAND, ORE., OCT. 7.

STEVENSON: "With 85 percent of our budget allocated to defense, it is the Soviet Union which now fixes the level of our defense expenditures and thus our tax rates. The only way to emancipate ourselves from this foreign control, and to substantially cut taxes, is first to develop our strength and then to find the means of ending the armaments race. – SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., SEPT. 9.

PROSPERITY

EISENHOWER: "Our prosperity is a war prosperity." (PHILADELPHIA, PA., SEPT. 9)—" 'You never had it so good' is a slick . . . paraphrase for 'you'll never have it any better under us—unless military expenditures keep the economy steamed up'."—PEORIA, ILL., OCT. 2.

STEVENSON: "Our economic future is bright. There is room for better standards of nutrition, better educational facilities, better roads and community facilities and services. Beyond our own shores, there is beckoning the vast demand for goods and skills of huge areas struggling to catch up. – SAGINAW, MICH., OCT. 7.

INFLATION

EISENHOWER: ". . . I would personally like to see reduced to the ultimate that we can, what I call artificial, direct, legalistic controls." – ABILENE, KANS., JUNE 6.

STEVENSON: ". . . I shall favor retaining the controls we now have until prices stop going up, and if they don't stop before January 1, Congress should take further steps to stop them! . . .—BALTIMORE, MD., SEPT. 23.

TRADE AND TARIFFS

EISENHOWER: "In a world as complex and as interrelated as this [our] minimum goal immediately destroys any . . . belief that we can live alone. We are acutely dependent upon the far corners of the earth for materials essential to our industry and our defense. . . . We [must] speed up our economic progress and increase the world trade on which our existence and peace depend." – PHILADELPHIA, PA., SEPT. 9.

STEVENSON: "We don't want anyone throughout the world to trade behind the Iron Curtain, but . . . they are not going to suffocate economically just to satisfy the Republican leadership of the Old Guard." (TULARE, CALIF., SEPT. 10)—"We cannot sell without buying and we cannot go on exporting dollars forever."—"Has not the Republican Party always been the party of quotas and high tariffs?" – NEW ORLEANS, LA., OCT. 10.

LABOR

EISENHOWER: Insists the Taft-Hartley Law must be retained. Favors the 23 amendments Taft has approved. No comment on repeal of the injunctive procedure in the law.

STEVENSON: Favors outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law. Desires a new law based on flexible methods and fair treatment of both labor and management.

POINT FOUR

EISENHOWER: Favors Point Four as a means of developing sources of raw materials and of creating markets for American production. To the extent the program contributes to our prosperity, "to that extent I am for it. . . ." – DALLAS, TEX., JUNE 22.

STEVENSON: By working with each country to expand the production of goods which are needed by other countries in the region, a self-generating and self-financing cycle of trade and development can be initiated, which will reduce and can eventually eliminate the need for American aid. . . . – SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., SEPT. 9.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

EISENHOWER: "To my mind that is just a process of supporting another bureaucrat . . . in Washington. . . .

Q. "Would you state now your position on the costly practice of segregating schools in the South . . .?"

A. "You brought up a feature of this thing I have not even thought about. I did not know there was any additional cost involved." – ABILENE, KANS., JUNE 6.

STEVENSON: "The Democratic platform spells out a program of action to meet our needs. We mean what it says." (COLUMBUS, OHIO, OCT. 3.)—*Platform*: "We urge that federal contributions be made available to state and local units which adhere to basic minimum standards.

"The federal government should not dictate or control educational policy."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SUMMING UP THE MAJOR ISSUES

PUBLIC WELFARE

EISENHOWER: "We accept as part of our social gains the fact that Americans must have adequate insurance against disaster . . . " (BOISE, IDAHO, AUG. 20).—"They even want a bureaucrat now to take over the responsibility for the health of each of us. They apparently think that one of these men sitting in Washington . . . knows more . . . than your doctor! (CHARLOTTE, N. C., SEPT. 26).—"How can the Administration candidate . . . support . . . socialized medicine?" (SEATTLE, OCT. 6).—" . . . we . . . must support medical education by private means, because if we didn't it would be the first step toward the socialization of medicine. . . . " – ABILENE, KANS., JUNE 6

STEVENSON: " . . . when I talk . . . about expanding the social-security program, I'm not just talking about bringing more people under social security, and raising the retirement payments to a more reasonable level. There is far more in our concept. . . . There is the federal-state-local program—the program which . . . has built many hospitals where they were desperately needed. . . . A sound program . . . to reduce the financial hazards of serious illness and overcome the fear of husbands and fathers that a sudden accident or sickness will force his family on public charity. And I don't mean what has been called 'socialized medicine' either." – SPRINGFIELD, ILL., SEPT. 1.

FARM POLICY

EISENHOWER: Has implied he favors price support aimed at 100 percent of parity for basic items. Favors finding methods of obtaining greater protection for perishable goods. Favors farm co-operatives, rural electrification and telephone service, research, and a farm credit system. Favors soil conservation programs. Wants to remove "federal domination" in all these fields.

STEVENSON: Will continue storage facilities and price support for basic commodities at 90 percent of parity. Favors protection for producers of perishable goods. Plans research, housing and credit programs focusing on the problem of rural poverty. Pledges continued rural electrification, soil conservation and flood control with the co-operation of farm leaders. Supports farm co-operatives. Emphasizes farm ownership and the family as the foundation of our system.

CIVIL RIGHTS

EISENHOWER: "I really believe we can do more by leadership in getting states to do it than by making it a federal compulsory thing." (ABILENE, KANS., JUNE 5).—"The full power, the full influence of the federal government must be used in correcting any unnecessary discrimination. . . . " – DETROIT, MICH., JUNE 14.

STEVENSON: "In the broad field of minority rights, the Democratic Party stated its position in its platform: a position to which I adhere. I should justly earn your contempt if I talked one way in the South and another way elsewhere. – RICHMOND, VA., SEPT. 21.

LOYALTY AND SUBVERSION

EISENHOWER: Promises to implement the Republican platform which charges that the Federal Loyalty Program is designed "to keep information secret and to deal lightly with security risks and persons of doubtful loyalty." Adds, "I promise to rout out 'the pinks' as well as the Communists from government."

STEVENSON: "As President, I would use all the power of the federal government to expose and identify Communist activity, to remove Communists and their tools from places of position and prestige. . . . But, because we believe in the free mind, we are also fighting those who, in the name of anti-Communism, would assail the community of freedom itself. The liberties of expression and conscience are the basic liberties of American society. . . . – MADISON, WIS., OCT. 9.

TIDELANDS

EISENHOWER: "Of course . . . the US . . . should always take effective steps to prevent unjustified and unfair exploitation of natural resources. But this can be done without federal ownership."—(LETTER TO TEXAS, MARCH 23.)—"When I said that [referring to the letter] I didn't know there . . . had been a Supreme Court decision on it, and I am one who obeys the Supreme Court." (DENVER, COLO., JUNE 15).—"I favor the recognition of clear legal title to these lands in each of the . . . states. This has been my position since 1948, long before I was persuaded to go into politics." – NEW ORLEANS, LA., OCT. 13.

STEVENSON: ". . . the base from which I start is the Supreme Court decision. . . . I accept and abide by this ruling in common with all Supreme Court Decisions." (SPRINGFIELD, ILL., AUG. 13).—"If the submerged lands, by virtue of the ruling of the US Supreme Court, are a national, and not a state, asset, the question is one of wise policy in the disposition of that asset. It is the duty of the President to conserve the national domain. My hope and desire is to see early enactment of legislation which will provide for a fair administration of these lands and the division of their proceeds." – NEW ORLEANS, LA., OCT. 10.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NIXON IN CALIFORNIA

by Mark Blackburn

IF THE ELECTION had been held earlier this year there is little doubt that Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower and his slate-mate would have captured California's 32 critically important electoral votes without much struggle. Today the outcome is uncertain. But the trend has taken a definite bounce away from Ike and toward Adlai Stevenson in the past few weeks. If this persists, the Democrats can win in California, though the final count might be as close as the 17,865-vote victory eked out by President Truman in 1948.

Perhaps the most significant indication of changing sentiment is shown in new registration figures just released for California's 58 counties. The figures show that last June, before the primary election, Republican registration had increased by 284,276 over the 1948 total while the Democratic increased only 103,586—a nearly three-to-one gain that disconcerted Democratic Party leaders all over the state. But the figures also show that, since June, the Democrats have added 317,105 registrants to only 263,260 for the GOP: a switch presenting interesting implications for political analysts.

One obvious implication is that the independent, or party-changing voters were impressed by Eisenhower prior to the conventions and the campaigning. They registered Republican. The sequel is that Eisenhower's glamor began to pall as the Stevenson policy of forthrightness began to gather force. The late registrants laid it on the Democratic line. It seems probable that these late registrants, who are in a better position to judge the candidates, their principles and the issues, provide sounder evidence as to the results in November. This inference is causing joy in Democratic circles.

Odd as it may seem to the politically astute in other states, California Democrats are not especially excited about a total registration of 3,312,915 as compared to 2,455,706 for the opposition. Anywhere else, a plurality of 857,207 in registration might be cause for glee, but not in California. In 1948, the Democrats led by 984,052 at registration time, yet Truman almost lost. This kind of confusion is caused by something called cross-filing, a system under which Democrats run as GOPs and vice versa, and no one is quite sure who actually represents what. Cross-filing, incidentally, is expected to be repealed by State Proposition 13 at the forthcoming election.

Mark Blackburn is a pseudonym for a well-known California political reporter.

Democrats have consistently outregistered the GOP (and out-voted them, for that matter) since the Roosevelt upheaval of 1932, but California voters have a way of making raw statistics worse than meaningless. In the off-year election of 1950, for example, the Democrats were far out in front, yet Republican Gov. Earl Warren whipped James Roosevelt by 2,461,754 votes to 1,333,856. At the same time, Sen. Richard M. Nixon, the GOP's number two heart-beat this year, defeated Helen Gahagan Douglas by the closer count of 2,183,454 to 1,504,507.

And, while these Republicans were winning two of the major statewide contests, Democrat Edmund G. (Pat) Brown won the office of attorney-general by more than 200,000 votes over Republican Edward S. Shattuck.

It can all be explained, and the explanation has a definite relationship to the 1952 Presidential scrap.

Warren won because he is that rare political phenomenon developed under the cross-filing system, a Republican with virtually as many Democratic as Republican supporters. And it was Warren's heavy pull as Dewey's running-mate that almost stopped Truman in the state in 1948. Nixon won the Senate race through luck and heavy-money backing. First, incumbent Sen. Sheridan Downey, a Democrat who could have beaten any opponent, withdrew because of ill health. Second, he was replaced by a woman nominee, Helen Gahagan Douglas, and many California voters are dubious about women in high office. Third, the Korean conflict gave Nixon a wonderful opening for the vicious, Red-smear type of campaign he does so well. Fourth, he had virtually unlimited money and free-advertising at his disposal.

Brown's battle with Shattuck was the only forthright party struggle; the Democrats won.

Nixon's victory did, however, put him in the national GOP spotlight and hand him the Vice-Presidential nomination on the theory that he could swing California's votes, something which is beginning to look doubtful.

Analysis of the 1950 vote shows that Warren, although opposed by a solid campaigner bearing the magic Roosevelt name, ran up a 1,128,000-vote plurality while Nixon with every possible break his way, could win by only 679,000. Add the fact that even Warren's tremendous popularity couldn't carry against Truman and it becomes apparent that Nixon's name isn't much help to Eisenhower. All that was clear before the Nixon "millionaire's-club" proposition became known. Now,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the effectiveness of his "I'm a clean-cut guy against corruption" stand has certainly been weakened if not completely wiped out.

Possibly even more important is the effect of Nixon's nomination on organized labor in California. Many union leaders were ready, almost anxious, to go along with Ike and the GOP just before the convention. But when Nixon was named, labor made a quick switch right back to the Democrats. This loss alone could turn the trick, for there are some 1.6 million members of organized labor in California. The AFL, representing 1.25 million workers, has begun an urgent drive to get out the votes of every workingman and his family. The CIO, though numbering only 80,000, is moving hard and fast. Sizeable independent unions have joined the fight.

There is yet another development that favors Adlai Stevenson and the Democrats. The McClatchy newspaper chain in central California—Sacramento, Fresno and Modesto—has just announced endorsement of Stevenson in an editorial which stated Eisenhower had "capitulated" to a "reactionary coterie—the Tafts, the McCarthys, the Jenners, the Cains, the Kems, the Brickers."

The McClatchy chain made no endorsement in 1948. Since they are the major publications in counties totalling 251,000 registrants, this nod of approval could make a considerable difference.

While most of the foregoing is encouraging from the Democratic point of view, there are some bleak spots. Perhaps the bleakest is the absolute failure of the Democratic organization to get organized. The Party is split more ways than a players' pool after a World Series.

Where it used to have only left, right and middle branches, the branches have now grown branches in all directions so that no one is quite sure who fits in where. Newcomers are everywhere, trying tasks that would exercise the abilities of old experienced hands. Money isn't being raised. Precinct organization is wobbly. Even such simple matters as printing literature are fumbled—the other day a large labor group sought 100,000 leaflets, could get only 10,000 with a promise of more later. In any other state, chances of victory under such circumstances would plainly be nil. In California, chances are hurt but nobody has any idea how much.

On the Republican side, organization is considerably smoother, principally because the problem of raising money is no problem. The GOPs have money. The Democrats say that a shortage of printing paper wouldn't bother the Republicans—they'd simply put out their leaflets on dollar bills. But the Republicans do have one important question-mark—Gov. Earl Warren.

The Governor has said he would make some talks on behalf of the party slate, but he has been remarkably reluctant. He went so far as to introduce Eisenhower at the Pan-Pacific auditorium in Los Angeles a few days ago during Ike's second pilgrimage through California. But he also gave Governor Stevenson a warm smile and a friendly welcome the following week when Adlai made his second visit to the state.

Warren obviously prefers to remain neutral. He knows he could swing a fair-sized bloc of votes to the GOP, maybe enough to carry the state, if he went all out for Eisenhower-Nixon. But the odds are that he'll confine his activities to a few, a very few, almost non-committal talks in the waning days of the campaign. There are two substantial reasons.

First, Warren has no use for Nixon. He refused to team with him in 1950. During the 1952 GOP convention, Nixon was all primed to swing the California delegation away from Warren to Eisenhower at the earliest opportunity. The Nixon switch was not needed, but Warren is not likely to forget the intent.

Second, Warren is having a hard time stomaching the GOP platform, Eisenhower's swallowing of the platform, and Taft's taking over of Eisenhower. It would be easier to envision Warren on the stump for Adlai Stevenson, who has already suggested that the California Governor come on over to the Democrats "where you belong."

The Republicans are also faced with another problem that might be large or small, depending on how close the vote is. Two parties are conducting write-in campaigns that might siphon off the stiffest arch Republican vote. One is the Constitution Party, featuring Gen. Douglas MacArthur for President and woman industrialist Vivien Kellems for Vice-President. The other, the Christian Nationalist Party, likewise stars MacArthur but teams him with State Sen. Jack B. Tenney—California's own McCarthy. Every vote they get will help the Democrats.

The Democrats have a similar cross to bear in the Independent Progressive Party which is running Vincent Hallinan, the San Francisco attorney who defended Harry Bridges and wound up in jail, and Mrs. Carlotta A. Bass, publisher of a newspaper for Negroes in Los Angeles. But these two will not pull anything like the 190,381 votes the IPPs got with Wallace here in 1948.

Add it all up and how does it look?

The Democrats can win. Most of the responsibility for winning must be taken by organized labor since the Democrats have failed to unite, organize and work. A close vote is almost certain. And those who do the best doorbell-ringing job in the last weeks can expect victory.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FAREWELL TO MR. KEM

by Irving Dilliard

THE GOOD townspeople of Cabool, down among the springs and caves of the Missouri Ozarks, looked on a strange and wondrous sight a few days ago. They saw and heard an unscheduled debate between two nominees for the United States Senate each of whom was surprised to find that the other was in town.

The contestants were Sen. James P. Kem, Missouri's contribution to the Republican "Class of '46," who is defending his seat, and Stuart Symington, former Air Force secretary, the Democratic challenger. Each rolled his sound-truck equipment into Cabool on the supposition that the pretty highland town was his own for the day. On learning different, they set up in opposite corners of the main intersection and had at each other—vocally and by turns—to the entertainment as well as political instruction of Cabool's several hundred voters.

The impromptu debate was such a rousing success that a repeat performance, this time carefully planned, has since been staged at Shaare Emeth Temple, in the St. Louis suburb of University City. Cheers and boos came from a demonstrative audience of 1,500 persons which crowded the Jewish house of worship.

To a large extent the Symington-Kem race follows the national pattern. Senator Kem says that Symington must stand on the record of "the mess in Washington" because he was for six years "a pliant and complacent tool of the Truman regime."

Shaking his finger at Symington on the Shaare Emeth rostrum, Senator Kem declared: "I say to you, Mr. Symington, you have made your bed and you must lie in it."

The uproar that followed lasted a full minute and it was hard to tell whether cheers for Kem or boos from Symington supporters registered the greater number of decibels. When Symington's turn to speak came, he delighted the prospective voters with a quotation from Shakespeare.

The tall, spare, former RFC director said that when he had told a friend about the abuse a nominee apparently must take in politics, the friend consoled him with a line from *Julius Caesar*. Looking directly at Senator Kem, Symington placed his hands on his hips and quoted:

"There is no terror in your threats, Cassius—for they pass me by like idle winds which I respect not."

Terror or no terror in what one says about the other, each is running as hard as he can. And each has a record on which to run—Kem on his six years in the Senate and Symington on a record of a variety of important administrative posts in Washington over approximately the same period.

Kem is a native of Missouri and makes a good bit of his point that Symington is a "mysterious stranger" from the East—from Amherst, Mass., his birthplace, from Baltimore, where he lived as a youth, and from Rochester, where he entered business 20 years ago. If the Senator has drawn attention to Symington's years at Yale, it has escaped this observer's attention. Perhaps that is because James P. Kem, after graduating from the University of Missouri in 1910, himself went off to the Harvard Law School.

Symington's reply to this is that he has liked Missouri well enough to come to the state and to make it his home. All the while he was in Washington he maintained a residence at Creve Coeur, in St. Louis County. But the argument is not very impressive at best. Many of the best known of Missouri's political figures in the past were born outside the state. Speaker Champ Clark, for example, was a native of Kentucky, and it was just a century ago that Carl Schur arrived from Germany on his way to the Senate from Missouri.

The argument has also been raised that the election of Symington would violate the practice of having one Senator from the St. Louis side of the state and one from the Kansas City side. Two years ago Thomas C. Hennings Jr. of St. Louis defeated Republican Sen. Forrest C. Donnell and thus provided the only instance in 1950 of a Democrat unseating a GOP Senator.

History answers this argument, too. For a score of years in the '80s and '90s and over into the new century, Sen. George Graham Vest and Francis Marion Cockrell served Missouri from the Kansas City side of the state and from communities that were quite close together.

But the issue in the Symington-Kem contest is not nativity or residence today. It is primarily the foreign-affairs issue and here the difference between the nominees could hardly be sharper. As worked out by George D. Blackwood of Boston University, Senator Kem is tied with Senator Langer of North Dakota for the lowest ranking on support of foreign-policy issues on 41 roll-call votes on major tests since 1947—virtually the whole of the Kem term.

Irving Dilliard is Editorial Page Editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and author of many articles and books.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This study shows that while Smith of New Jersey, Ives of New York and Lodge of Massachusetts compiled records of 95 percent, 93 percent and 92 percent respectively, the Kem record is exactly 3 percent. His rivals were Jenner of Indiana and Welker of Idaho with 7 percent and Malone of Nevada with 5 percent.

Senator Kem has no apologies for this record. It is no embarrassment to him now that he was one of the last-ditch 13 who voted against the North Atlantic Treaty. He says simply that 20 years is too long to commit his four-year-old grandson to support the NATO program in Europe.

The Senator's stand against the Atlantic pact was both preceded and followed by a long list of votes to cripple foreign aid or other forms of participation by the United States in world affairs.

There can be no question as to the Kem sincerity. When it was suggested by one of the GOP compromisers that the Senators who held views radically different from those originally held by General Eisenhower, would abandon their views, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* came to Senator Kem's defense editorially. It said that although it considered Senator Kem to be completely wrong on foreign affairs, it credited him with fullest sincerity. The intimation that Senator Kem would flop over after re-election was unfair to him, said the *Post-Dispatch,* and an unwarranted reflection on his integrity. The Senator has since said that he has not changed his views and that he has no intention whatever of doing so.

It would be a mistake to conclude that the Kem record is all bad. The genial, white-haired Senator is on the right side of the filibuster issue. He probed away at the 1946 Kansas City vote frauds and the restricted handling of the case by the FBI on orders from Tom Clark's Department of Justice. He joined hands with Sen. Paul H. Douglas of Illinois in opposing the natural-gas grab bill.

But these commendable entries are quickly cancelled by his part in the bitter opposition to David Lilienthal as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, by his stand against important public-housing legislation needed in the war on slums—and so on.

Stuart Symington, by contrast, is almost the direct opposite of James Kem on foreign affairs and many domestic issues. Symington first went to Washington from the Emerson Electric Company in 1945 as Surplus Property Administrator. Large sums were entrusted to him in a post which he distinguished by his interest in the small businessman. In succession he was Assistant Secretary of War for Air, first Secretary of the Air Force, chairman of the National Security Resources Board and RFC chairman. It is one of Symington's genuine satisfactions that in all the times his name went before the Senate for confirmation not a single vote was ever recorded against him.

Symington won a great personal victory in the Democratic primary last August. His chief opponent was the Attorney-General of Missouri, J. E. Taylor, a professional politician and office-holder. Symington not only had not run for elective post before. He had the nominal opposition of President Truman, who seemingly was making good on a promise to Taylor delivered two years ago.

When the votes were counted, Symington was the victor by about 180,000. This very large majority was made possible by the support of thousands of Republicans who liked Symington's performance in Washington and, liking it, went into the Democratic primary to see what they could do about helping him get nominated. On the stump, Symington has made it his business to discuss the issues, both foreign and domestic.

Who is going to win?

The feeling could be wrong, but the feeling is general, that no matter what other states may do, Missouri will retire its member of the "Class of '46." Running for Governor is Phil M. Donnelly a much-admired former Governor. Many say that a Stevenson-Symington-Donnelly ticket is the strongest possible lineup that the Democrats could have put together to attract independent voters in Missouri.

"WELL, IT PAID OFF FOR McCARTHY IN WISCONSIN"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE DISCARNATE SPIRITS

by Robert Richman

CERTAINLY THE SUCCESS of any satire in prose fiction depends upon the matching of a fine prose style (that can hold up its proud head) with a well-wrought indignation. And such a match is delightfully present in nearly all of *The Devils of Loudon*. Aldous Huxley's *Point Counter Point* immediately suggests itself; and I do not mean that the latter is an imitation of the former, nor cast in the exact manner, nor indeed is it of a like cloth of theme. I think rather of these two: of the musical structures of *Point Counter Point* and of Huxley's hand and mind experimenting with the Form of fiction.

THE DEVILS OF LOUDON, by Aldous Huxley (Harper; $4).

The extraordinary value of the use of a musical structure in literature is that the writer is able to announce one theme, to vary it; then to state another and vary each; to repeat the themes with their variations; and then with the full license of the contrapuntal method to blend all themes into still another theme with a set of variations following in its organic turn. The writer is permitted a large complex of ideas which when brought under the controls of art gives intricate pleasure.

In *The Devils of Loudon,* set in the treacherous France of Cardinal Richelieu, Huxley announces his first theme—love-celibacy. Priest Urban Grandier seduces his pupil Philipe Trincant (these are overtones of the Heloise-Abelard motif) only to tire of her when she has conceived. The "rake" variations of the celibacy-concubinage theme, which receives still more variation *in amour* with widows and wives, in turn evolve into the theme of celibant-marriage, in which Grandier and his virtuous ward Madeleine perform the actual marriage ceremony after he has convinced her and himself by the strong prose of a tract he wrote to make his venery compatible with his soiled vow of celibacy.

In 1620 in France, such unpriestly conduct aroused the anger and the vengeful hatreds of the citizens—a town and frock theme, which has furious variations that ultimately expand and modulate into the great church-state theme of Richelieu and France. This set of themes and variations moves in the due but unsuccessful process of civil law and ecclesiastical law as Grandier's enemies try to bring him to humiliation and justice for his concupiscence.

But with penetrating insights into the actions of men and by using the exact phrase to illuminate that darkness, Huxley develops his second love theme: real-imagined love. In the Ursuline Convent of Loudon, the Prioress Soeur Jeanne, having heard of the exploits of Father Grandier, first furiously resented his decelibation; then was intrigued with it; then envious, desirous and at last hopelessly enamoured with the image of the priestly lover. And the unknowing priest, happy with his illicit loves, flatly refused her invitation to become chaplain of the Convent. And Hell broke loose with its counterpoint of themes and demons and variations—of love phantasies first in Soeur Jeanne; then acting as one possessed of devils, she let it be known whilst she was in a spell that this Devil in her dreams did violate her marriage to Christ. And she also made it be known this devil was in the image of Urban Grandier—a convenience, for Soeur Jeanne now in dreams had the man she could not get; all this and vengeance too, for Urban, for the first time the innocent one, was suspected of being guilty of sorcery and devilcraft.

Then one by one the Ursuline Sisters of Loudon were possessed now savagely now ecstatically by the same devils until they all were feverishly hysterical with what D. H. Lawrence called "sex in the head." Priests and canons were summoned to exorcise these hot devils with little or no luck; and herein Huxley has stated another variation of the love-celibacy theme, namely the energumen-sorcerer, which builds to a new theme and on into the witchcraft-exorcizement theme. There are many variations —the voyeurism enjoyed by the exorcizers who watched the fitful sisters in their most indecent contortions; or who administered the clyster; and one Father Joseph Surin, an ascetic mystic and brilliant scholar but credulous of devils, who finally drove them from Soeur Jeanne. But in his sincere devotion to that task, he became possessed and then mad (the neurosis-psychosis theme) for nearly twenty years.

Indeed, now that the clergy suspected him of witchcraft, doom descended on the innocent Grandier. The civilians who had been stained by Grandier—the father of Phillipe Trincant, the cuckolded husbands, the amorous widows and the unrequited wives of the parish, and all who had been unable to make their charges of venery against Grandier hold in the civil or ecclesiastical courts —all these now had with the spectacle of the demons among the nuns of Loudon the necessary "evidence" needed to charge Father Urban, not for concupiscence of which he was guilty but for sorcery of which he was most innocent. Finally after Richelieu himself had given his opinion that the nuns were possessed and that Grandier was the sorcerer, a Special Tribunal decreed that Grandier was guilty and that he should have tortures extraordinary which would force him to confess his deviltry followed by burning at the stake which would purge all those possesssed in Loudon of the evil spirits.

The trial and the burning at the stake of Father Urban Grandier, some of the most dramatic scenes in modern fiction and comparable to St. Joan's in Shaw's drama, show the excellence of the elaborate contrapuntal structure of these main themes and variations—and of the many not mentioned—and remind us of the method of music. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many ideas of this novel become doubly and trebly meaningful by such an elaboration, in his mastery of narration, characterization, dramatic moment. But more than this: I believe Huxley was attempting to develop or evolve further a new form for fiction—the "essay" novel. I mean that he used the essay in the service of this fiction as Samuel Richardson had used the "letter" in the service of his fiction which we call the epistolary novel. Huxley uses his materials and sources and documents differently from those which Sterne in *Tristram Shandy* had ventured to use; and equally as different from Scott; and it differs also from the writers of the naturalistic "novel of ideas;" or from the pastoral novel—the name William Empson called the proletarian novel. Nor can we say Gide has done it before.

Although Huxley is the omnipresent central authority in the work, he bestows a similar power on the reader who can weave in and out of the sources and the characters, the conflicts and concepts, being at one and the same moment in the center of this musical network of themes set in 1625 in time, and placed in France, and identified now with Father Grandier, or Soeur Jeanne, or Father Surin; and being at the next moment in 1952 seated in one's own home. In such masterful use of aesthetic distance, even the third chapter, which as a discussion of perennial philosophy is an *essay*, has earned its right to be in this fiction. And whether we agree with this philosophy or not does not matter.

It is true we have every reason to assume that the serious reader and the qualified critic would have accepted upon the publication of T. S. Eliot's *Ash Wednesday* the fact that for contemporary literature (as it is for any age) religious thought and experience was one subject proper to a poem; and that it did not matter, or make it art, or prevent its art. Those who hailed the experimental Huxley of *Point Counter Point* and have deplored a softness which they thought was appearing in his art at the hour of his turning to mysticism, and those who think that Huxley, with Eliot and Auden, has forsaken the mantle of art for the shirt of hair may be assured that Mr. Huxley has left his hairshirt hanging in the closet of his library when he wrote *The Devils of Loudon*. He dares to seek the rare company of prose artists—Thomas Browne, William Congreve, Laurence Sterne—who held style and the graceful control of the English sentence to be the highest achievement in the art of prose.

PART OF A MONUMENT

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE CRITIC, by F. O. Matthiessen, selected by John Rackliffe (Oxford; $5).

THIS BOOK BRINGS together somewhat more than half of the uncollected critical articles which the late F. O. Matthiessen wrote for various magazines and collective volumes. (Incidentally, the largest group to appear in a single magazine was first published in the *New Republic*). *The Responsibilities of the Critic* will take its place as an equal in the company of such major works of the author as *The Achievement of T. S. Eliot* and *American Renaissance*. To readers who lived through the thirties and forties it will recall vividly literary skirmishes and battles, debuts of promise and gratifying occasions of fulfillment. For younger students of European as well as American literature it will serve as a critical compendium of an age which, as these reviews show, was richly endowed with novelists and poets.

Because Matthiessen believed steadfastly that "a review is simply a short piece of criticism, and that it should be as good criticism as its writer can make it," he practised reviewing as an art and with high purpose. Many—indeed the majority—of these reviews are marvels of condensation and sharp, clear expression. Several of them stand up so well after the passage of years, even those written in the 1930's, that they are, as we like to say, definitive. This is particularly true of the essays on William Vaughn Moody, Irving Babbitt, Van Wyck Brooks, Phelps Putnam, Ransom, MacNeice, and Stevens.

In a brief, untitled piece discovered among Matthiessen's papers, he set forth his ideas of the function of the reviewer-as-critic, demanding of him that he should furnish exposition and description, that he should enable you to feel concretely what is being described and "should give you in the process an evaluation."

In his reviewing Matthiessen exemplified these virtues, but he possessed many others. He was severe with soft and slovenly writing. He could dive on silliness and error like a hawk. He unleashed his scorn against those who depreciated the high and necessary vocation of the artist. Yet he was never malicious and his generosity to fledgling writers is noteworthy.

One of Matthiessen's most valuable technical assets was his ability to distill the distinctive qualities of a writer into a memorable sentence or phrase or epithet. Yet these brillant condensed judgments were not tossed into a review at random. They are climactic and are always completely prepared for by the preceding exposition and casting up of accounts. In reading his reviews one waits expectantly for these sudden flashes of insight into the heart of the matter. Thus Matthiessen sums up the annoying illogicalness of Calverton's *The Liberation of American Literature* by saying of him that "he constantly shifts ground like an excited debater." The obscurity in the poems of Hart Crane "resulted from his fumbling need to find words that could articulate a musical ecstasy that he knew to be as real as that of Rimbaud." The reasons for Moody's failure to achieve stature as a poet are summarized in one sentence:

> He was so striving in his effort to create that it left a pale cast of heavy deliberateness over nearly all of his lines, so self-conscious in his determination to be a poet that it almost incapacitated him for writing poetry.

Matthiessen was able to come quickly to the heart of the matter in his reviewing because he had his ideas in order and because they were coherent. Essentially he was a Christian humanist. This can be sent as early as the singularly mature "Credo" which he wrote as an editorial "leader" in the Yale *Lit.* dur-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing his senior year in college. His political beliefs owed far more to the Christian tradition than to Marx. They were also formed by his continuous search for what was best—best for all men that is to say—in the tradition of American liberalism. His sense of the evil in human affairs was deep and constant. He always refuses the highest accolade to writers who, he feels, do not possess this and consequently avoid the tragic mode. Not even so great a favorite of his as Sarah Orne Jewett qualifies: "The characters she delineates are not torn by passions, but move on the fringes of life."

In spite of his awareness of the increasing alienation of the poet and critic from life in modern America, Matthiessen never yielded in his belief that the writer must stand, as William James had said of the thinker, "at the central point where a battle is being fought." This did not mean that he must be a partisan propagandist lest he be accused of being an "irresponsible." His sole duty is to "give us the full knowledge that he has acquired of life, without suppressing anything."

Only by that free play of experience and the exuberance which the arts alone provide can the health of a nation's mind and spirit be preserved. If America loses its humor or its theater or its music, if we "cut down on the arts as though they were sugar," we can so weaken our humane cultural traditions, Matthiessen believed, that in a few years we shall be producing "narrowly trained technicians whose state of mind [will be] almost indistinguishable from the hard efficiency of the fascists."

It is no wonder, then, that possessed of such a creed and so great a talent for this kind of task, Matthiessen should have practised the reviewer's art with devotion and distinction. Despite the suavity of his style, he was a fighting critic, at war against materialism, ignorance, and philistinism. While he lived he was a speaking conscience for all of us who value the arts, as teachers, creative writers, or critics. The stilling of that voice was an incalculable loss, but he built his own monument and it will endure.

WILLARD THORP

THE OXONIAN CARDINAL

NEWMAN'S WAY, by Sean O'Faolain (Devin-Adair; $4.50).

THE 8TH OF OCTOBER in 1845 was a wild and dismal day in England, "the Autumn leaves torn from their branches and pasted to the ground by the equinoctial winds; the leaves at Littlemore spitting and spluttering." At this country retreat, inside the rooms darkened by the downpour, John Henry Newman waited quietly for his reception that evening into the Roman Catholic Church, after a long, trying intellectual and spiritual pilgrimage.

The bitter outcry against him in England after this event may be hard for people today, Americans in particular, to understand. We do not much concern ourselves with points of religious doctrine, nor wonder much where an attentive study of them may lead the mind. That was not so in 19th century England, with a state Church traditionally hostile toward Rome, and; crumbling from its edges, a vast number of small Evangelical sects testifying to the pitch of interest in religious matters; where Catholic exclusion laws were still in effect; where Guy Fawkes Day was an annual holiday, and the stigma of Popery was almost the worst a man could carry. In that time and place, the conversion of this Anglican cleric, a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, profoundly disturbed whole sections of the people.

His family, of whom he had been the mainstay, abandoned him and, except for a few who went with him on his difficult path, so did his friends. Recriminations were harsh. People felt betrayed, and what was worse, uneasy. He had been, in the Oxford Movement he led, the greatest of apologists for the Church of England; he had been the greatest reassurance of its members. They made him pay for the dismay his defection caused them. "There can have been few more lonely men in the world than the aging Newman," says Sean O'Faolain in the Epilogue to this most recent book on the perennially fascinating English Cardinal, a great writer, who "may have been a saint."

O'Faolain at first intended to write a book about the Newman family (hitherto neglected by biographers), in the hope, as he says, of "humanizing the Newman legend." J. H. N., however, so outshadowed the rest of the members that the book inevitably becomes chiefly his. O'Faolain has made valuable new researches and writes with a novelist's craft and understanding. The childhood of the six Newman children was idyllic. Their good father, of obscure and certainly poor origins, had managed to become a prosperous banker. He and his wife, who came of substantial gentlefolk, made the early years of their children a kind of dream. There was an awakening, when the Newmans lost everything; when banker became brewer, and, finally, bankrupt; when John, who had been over-indulged at Oxford, took on a killing tutorial burden to pay his brother's way there and give such help as he could to the rest; when the ladies settled into shabby gentility.

Their lives were somewhat foreseeable, even then, in their personalities. Francis, whom O'Faolain describes in his last years as a "ragbag mind . . . by now a caricature of that type of kind-hearted, ineffectual, agnostic, Liberal Englishman" was moving off toward the first of a series of Enthusiasms. Flamboyant Charles, quite simply termed "off his head," was already beginning to distress the family he was to torment for fifty years. Harriet's tongue was sharpening daily; Jemima and May were gentle then, as they were to remain, in a long life and a short one.

These people would be mildly interesting in themselves. As intimate and lifelong concerns of John Henry Newman, they are very interesting indeed. It is pleasant to read this Irish novelist at work on them, and on the Cardinal himself. One suspects that he may be right in calling Newman's own *Apologia pro Vita Sua* "that utterly truthful book, which no biographer can trust implicitly," at least as a guide to Newman's heart. The reason, he holds, is that Newman's post-cogitative memory, like that of any subjective intellectual, was untrustworthy. His intellect, deal-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing with remembered emotion, most often succeeded in disguising it or altogether transforming it, through making it into a "state of mind."

"But what can we know of his heart?" asks the author, and answers himself: "We know only a very little; but I feel that we may, without impertinence, think we know more than he did."

That is probably the case. One can wish once or twice though that O'Faolain would not introduce an interpretation of his own with an arbitrary "the truth is." . . . He is not often so carried away, however, and on the whole approaches his complex giant with a sensitive respect for his complexity, his mystery. To know Newman's family and his relations with them makes it impossible any longer to think of him as a sheltered don and priest, "excogitating everything out of the air." His new biographer remarks that "John came up hard against human nature, first and last, in his own family." We are likely to conclude, from his quite beautiful little book, that his experience of it was as hard and sad as any.

S. M. FITZGERALD

IN THE CLOTH OF HUMOR

THE THREAD OF LAUGHTER, by Louis Kronenberger (Knopf; $4.50).

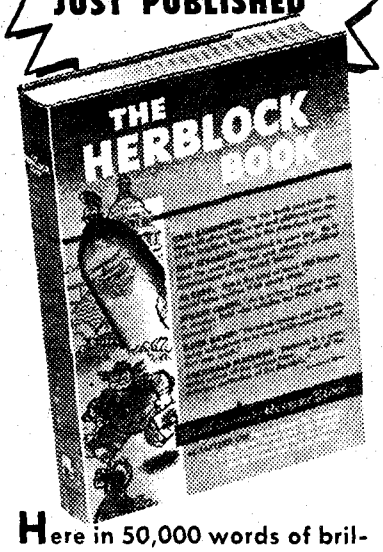
IN THE LAST DECADE, which in the drama also has been a time to try men's souls, none among our professional play-reviewers, so far as I know, has exhibited a keener sense of right and wrong in the theatre, a more scrupulous sense of professional responsibility, or more consistently reliable taste than Louis Kronenberger. Mr. Kronenberger is not the sort of critic who hesitates to stick his neck out of his column. He has shown what he is made of as novelist and scholar, and the effect is impressive. Now that he turns in his professional capacity from the daily dozen of the journalist to a leisurely discussion of the great masterpieces, a task necessarily self-revelatory in the extreme, it is gratifying to be able to assert that what makes Kronenberger tick as a critic is something akin to the finest Swiss movements.

The Thread of Laughter is a survey of English comedy from Jonson to Maugham, the fruit of several semesters spent in teaching at Columbia and at Brandeis University. It is a book which gives every evidence of sound scholarship, but not what we generally call a scholarly work. On the other hand, it is too earnest a study to be called merely belletristic. I think it is safe to say that it is in the very best tradition of popular literary criticism. In this series of essays based on lectures, and therefore noticeably forensic in style, Mr. Kronenberger deals principally with the tradition of manners-comedy of which the English stage has in fact made a sort of specialty. A good half of the book is thus concerned with Restoration drama, its cause and consequence; the rest deals more or less at length with the comedic achievement of Wilde, Synge, Shaw and Maugham.

Restoration comedy has always been something of an enigma. It was hard to believe, apparently, even in its own day, and the ingenious efforts of scholars to interpret it since have made it even more incomprehensible. Mr. Kronenberger treats the subject with enlightened common sense. It would be too much to say that he floods the subject with light; but he makes the most of the available illumination. His purpose is, moveover, not so much to explain as to evaluate this body of literature, and in this somewhat ungrateful task he succeeds very well, though it is certain that every student of the subject will disagree with something in the order of his Hit Parade.

Aristotle noted in the *Poetics* that tragedy seeks to imitate men better than ourselves, while comedy imitates men worse than ourselves. In this somewhat cryptic statement, he may perhaps be said to have anticipated the modern theories of the aggressive nature of the comedy. Since Freud has refurbished our vocabulary, we have fallen into the habit of saying that the pleasure of tragedy is masochistic, and the pleasure of comedy, sadistic, which means merely that we are expected to identify with the sufferings of the tragic hero, and to laugh at the sufferings of the comic. But as our behavior with regard to any special dramatic situation is seldom simple and always subject to change without notice, it is difficult to define the comic in other than relativistic terms. Hence the borderline between tragedy and comedy, as everyone has remarked, is so thin as to be imperceptible, for the difference between the tragic and the comic experience is largely a matter of the kind of identification, positive or negative, with which we view the mov-

JUST PUBLISHED



Here in 50,000 words of brilliant satire, accompanied by 411 of the best Herblock cartoons of the period, is the face of America since World War II—*and what a face it's been!*

THE
Herblock
BOOK

The first complete book by
HERBLOCK

By the winner of: Pulitzer Prize, Heywood Broun Award, National Headliners Club Award, American Newspaper Guild Award, and Sigma Chi Award (1949, 1950, 1952).

"Herblock, as the master of the most adroit and intelligent ridicule of the day has become one of the principal defenders of the Republic."
—ARCHIBALD MacLEISH

ONLY $2.75

244 pages
At all bookstores throughout the U.S.
BEACON PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing actor. It is a cliché of criticism that the funniest characters are potentially the most poignant, since the degree of possible aggressiveness is always in proportion to the degree of possible identification—and this is obviously the secret of all great clowning.

In his introductory chapter on the nature of comedy, Mr. Kronenberger, has perhaps something of this in mind, but his theory, if I understand it, falls rather more readily into the field of social than of individual psychology. Comedy, he writes, is criticism, because it exposes human beings for what they are in contrast to what they profess to be. This is a time-honored definition.

Like other similar views of comedy, it is meaningful as far as it goes; the difficulty is, it goes rather far. It is equally applicable to such examples of dramatic unmasking as *Androcles and the Lion, Volpone, The Wild Duck, An Enemy of the People,* and *King Lear,* all of which are comedically critical in this sense, but not all of which makes a comic impression. And that is perhaps the point. Nothing in drama is comic *per se;* therefore the philosophic method is of no particular value in an inquiry of this sort, and the danger of applying critical tests to this material is that one may be forced to the conclusion—as Mr. Kronenberger very nearly seems to be—that comedy, in general, is no laughing matter. But criticism, after all, is life once removed; and, life once removed, what remains in the theatre isn't always much fun. Mr. Kronenberger seems to be entirely aware of this, and it saddens him. It is not the least of of this author's engaging qualities as critic that he does not often lose touch with his own humanity. His impatience with piffle and pretentiousness is abundantly manifest, but what gives point and cogency to his argument is not so much his ability to dissect a plot or turn a phrase, but that quality of compassion so necessary to the critic, that thread of tears which comically confuses the observer with the observed and causes the executioner, as he casts a speculative glance at the victim's neck, to murmur sadly, "mon semblable, mon frère."

MAURICE VALENCY

IN POET'S CLOTHING

MUSIC AND IMAGINATION, by Aaron Copland (Harvard; $2.75).

THE CHARLES ELIOT NORTON Professorship at Harvard was originally endowed as a chair in Poetry; since it was created, three composers have been smuggled into it, apparently to the satisfaction of all concerned. Stravinsky's *Poetics of Music* was published from his Norton Lectures, and Hindemith's recent *A Composer's World* was originally read at Harvard. Aaron Copland delivered the Norton Lectures during the past winter, and has published them now "in substantially the same form in which they were read to the students and general public."

According to the author, "the six talks were not intended to be closely reasoned arguments on a single subject, but rather a free improvisation on the role imagination plays in the art of music." As such, the book becomes a provocative and sometimes brilliant collection of *pensées,* some of them sustained, but not all closely related.

The book helps to explain Mr. Copland's thinking and its effect on his work. Copland's stylistic eclecticism has always been matched by his tolerance of the work of other composers, and a generosity which is foreign to musical dogmatism. It is perhaps because he is fascinated with what he calls "the sonorous image," the special character of a sound which makes it memorable. Though, as he says, "interesting sonoroties are scarcely more than the icing on the musical cake," it is frequently just this icing that makes many of us unwilling to swallow the cake itself. Copland has a healthy and catholic taste for icings, and is in a good position to tell us about what can be found underneath them. His remarks about the music of Anton von Webern should, I think, be stimulating to anyone less blinded by intolerance than myself.

On the subject of the great works, Copland is not original, but what he says should be repeated again and again; in effect, it is that greatness is a vastly over-rated quality in music; that the masterpiece notion has been strangling the art by limiting the performing repertory and with it the imagination of the concert audience; that the heavy influence of the masterpiece tradition often leads inadequate, and especially, young composers into "making the grand gesture by the writing of ambitious works, often in a crabbed style, that have no future whatever."

All of his observations, even the most severe ones, are qualified by a reserved optimism which is the result of twenty-five years of hard work and attentive observation. Copland is encouraged by the fact that the last quarter of a century has fostered the writing of a tremendous amount of music, much of it very good, that talent is neither wanting nor seriously hampered at present, that criticism and audiences are showing an increasing interest in new work. At a time when it is fashionable to grouse about the dreary aspects of our century, his attitude is singularly gratifying.

ROBERT EVETT

ORIENTAL DRAMA

JAPANESE THEATRE, by Faubion Bowers (Hermitage House; $5).

SINCE THE *NR* has lately had to print more than one protest at the price of a book, it is a pleasure to report on a valuable and richly illustrated book which well might have cost more. I do not know what scholars in the field will say, but to the non-expert, for whom it is written, Faubion Bowers' volume is an eye-opener and a delight. Books on oriental theatre have passed through my hands (the expression is literal) for some years now—there was Miss Buss' book on Chinese theatre and Jack Chen's too—and I haven't held on to any of them. There was information in them, but scanty, and in no way laid out to fire the imagination. Most of them were rather out of date even at their first appearance. Even if I read one through I still had no clear image of the subject treated. What were these plays really like? What did the stage look like? Mr. Bowers answers the questions one wants answered about Japanese theatre. He and his publishers are to be congratulated on a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

first-rate job of book production and public enlightenment. The photographs are excellent. E.B.

BETTI, SHUMLIN, DRAKE

by Eric Bentley

THE ITALIAN DRAMA is unknown in America, and would evidently remain so if Alfred Drake didn't honor the country of his origin by directing Goldoni, playing Pirandello, and—currently—adapting a Betti play, *The Gambler*, with himself in the title role.

Since the death of Pirandello in 1936 there have been only two Italian playwrights of note: Eduardo de Filippo and Ugo Betti. Eduardo, when he is wise, keeps close to the popular Neapolitan tradition in which he was reared. Betti is bourgeois and European. Seeing his work today we think of Sartre's *Nausée* or Neveux' *Plainte contre l'Inconnu* (though in fact his "existentialism" antedates these); we think of Expressionism and of Kafka. Like *The Trial*, *The Gambler* presents the moral life of modern man in terms of a tribunal situated between this world and the next. As in Eliot's *Family Reunion* the protagonist is resisting yet steadily approaching the admission that he is guilty of murder (whether or not he actually *did* the deed). Like Eliot and unlike Kafka, Betti caps the admission of guilt with an offer of salvation.

Speaking of Betti one inevitably mentions other authors, not because one is sure which of them influenced him but because he is inescapably a "literary," a derivative author. Amid all the echoes it is hard to be sure if Betti has a voice of his own. If he has, I should guess that it's not a philosophical voice but one that cries out in pain and disgust. He is more convincing (also like Eliot) in depicting the struggle than in conferring the prize. The optimistic philosophy arrived at in *The Gambler* is either spurious or obscure.

The play is given a far better performance than such things usually are. The average New York standard is that of, say the Theatre Guild's *Legend of Lovers* or Cornell's *Antigone*: the play is lost in a chaos of uncomprehending direction, bad acting, and vulgar adaptation. The Drake-Eager version of *The Gambler* is something better than adaptation, it is faithful yet fluent translation; the general level of the acting is respectable and that of two individuals—Mr. Drake and E. G. Marshall—first rate; the physical production scheme devised by Messrs. Mielziner and Shumlin is both brillant and simple. By and large this is a more expert show than the original Italian production of the play.

On the other hand, what I saw in Rome two years ago makes me aware of a serious flaw in Herman Shumlin's production: it duplicates Betti's ponderosity with its own. Mr. Shumlin seems to have believed that by slowing down the dialogue and the action he could achieve style and suggest profundity. The Italians got their effects by lightness and speed. Crucial is the portrayal of the dead wife. In Rome she was (if memory serves) a straightforward enough modern girl. In New York she is a Victorian Ophelia costumed from the wardrobe of an opera company.

Some people are going to the Lyceum, of course, just to see Alfred Drake; and they are quite within their rights; it is good to see Mr. Drake, and it is good to see him at precisely this stage in his career. He has still much of the exuberance of youth yet is old enough to give the sense of difficulties overcome, the sense of an achieved technique. More important, his work quivers with possibility—he is not at his destination but he is making for it at top speed. He is an actor almost at the height of his powers, and in some ways, therefore, it is more exciting to see him now than it will be if and when he becomes the complete *maestro;* John Gielgud was more exciting 20 years ago than he is now.

The transition from *Oklahoma*! and *Kiss Me, Kate* to *Right You Are* and *The Gambler* has been triumphantly accomplished. The courage that made Mr. Drake attempt it will be even more necessary now if he is not to settle into the sterile stardom of Mr. X and Miss Y. The next five years will be his testing time.

School of Applied Psychoanalysis

NEW YORK PSYCHOANALYTIC INSTITUTE
247 EAST 82ND STREET, NEW YORK CITY

COURSES FOR SCHOLARS AND GRADUATE STUDENTS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

Theory and Applications of Psychoanalysis

Classes begin November 10, 1952 — Request catalog at TR 9-6900-Ext. 8

ORANGES AND GRAPEFRUIT

TOP GRADE, TREE RIPENED, INDIAN RIVER GRAPEFRUIT AND ORANGES, freshly picked, tastefully packed. Grand for eating, juice, gifts. Guaranteed. Express prepaid. Bushel $6.50. Half bushel $4.50. (East of Miss.)
James H. Hart
Island Groves, Route 2, Cocoa, Florida.

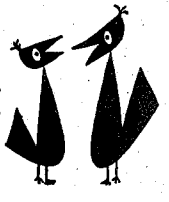
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL

College or University Public Relations: Well known practitioner wishes to change from political and industrial field to academic. He has background of notable successes including ten years government ending as assistant to cabinet member. Has served as principal public relations aide to many notable figures in public life. Experienced research, publishing, staff administration. Box 2, The New Republic.

PERSONAL

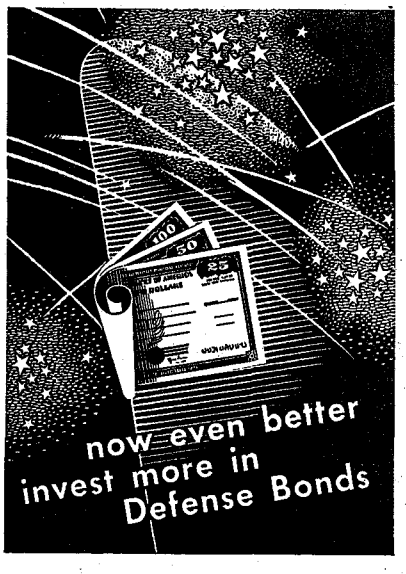
exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.' *Write for booklet, or phone*
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. N.R., 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



Looking for a PUBLISHER?

Learn about our special plan whereby your book can be published, promoted and distributed on a professional basis. All types of manuscripts invited. New authors welcome. Write for Booklet RP today. It's free.
VANTAGE PRESS, 120 W. 31 St., New York 1.
In Calif.: 6356 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28.



PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N. ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REPRINTED FROM THE

New Republic

STEVENSON SPEAKS

A special 14-page section of the candidate's speeches on Asia, inflation, corruption, the South, farm policy, labor legislation, civil rights, the press, McCarthyism, Communism and peace.

A 16-Page reprint from the October 20 issue

The last and ***BEST*** Campaign Document

THE October 20 issue of the *New Republic* was virtually sold out before the magazine reached its readers. There was an overwhelming response to the announcement that a special section would be devoted to Stevenson's campaign addresses.

To satisfy the demand, it was necessary to put on press at once a reprint of the speeches and this is now ready for immediate shipment. The price is 10¢ a copy; the low bulk rates given below apply in larger quantities.

What in other years and from other candidates was termed "campaign oratory," from the pen and lips of Adlai Stevenson have become major American Classics. These speeches will be read and reread, treasured and remembered as long as our Democracy endures.

Here in compact form are the principal addresses, some of them almost in full, that have held spell-bound the Governor's audiences. Here are his precise, courageous views on all the important questions, foreign and domestic.

If you are a member of a Volunteers for Stevenson group, a trade union or other association, buy and distribute this pamphlet in the closing days of this momentous campaign.

Also available at the same rates, "Adlai Stevenson—The Man and His Views," of which more than 150,000 copies have been distributed.

BULK REPRINT PRICES:

50 copies	$4
100 copies	$6
200 copies	$11
500 copies	$25
1000 copies	$45

(All prices cover postage)

Write for terms on larger quantities.

CUT

NEW REPUBLIC • 40 E. 49 ST. • NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

For the enclosed $..... please send me ..... copies of the Stevenson reprint.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY..... ZONE.....STATE.....

10-27-52

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED